

124 TEPOZTLAN, A MEXICAN VILLAGE

* 796 October 31.—Tomorrow will be *Todos Santos* ("All
 • 769 Saints"), when are commemorated those who died as
 782 children. On November 2 will be remembered those
 who died as adults. Tomorrow is the "day of the little
 ones." At eight o'clock in the evening in every home a
 candle is lighted for each dead child there remem-
 bered, and copal incense set burning. The candle is
 decorated with flowers and ribbons. Before the can-
 dles food is set. In the old days this was *itacates*, bean
 [262] *tamales*, and *mole verde*. Now they offer bread, choco-
 late, and sometimes chicken or fish. At one side a bowl
 of milk and little cakes (*mamones*) are set for the very
 [789] little ones. To keep away the Evil One a jar of holy
 water is put out, and a paternoster is said while the
 holy water is sprinkled with a flower taken from the
 offering.

Every utensil used must be new—baskets, spoons,
 the *petate*, the incense-burner.

Each dead child is called by name and the food is
 offered him, while plates and wooden spoons are laid
 out for each. The family keeps vigil all night.

November 1.—At six in the morning people come to
 the Templo Mayor and the priest asks a blessing for
 the child dead. Then all return to their homes and
 eat the offering of food laid out the night before.

In the evening the offering is laid out for the adult
 dead. Now the candles lighted are large ones, and in-
 stead of bright-colored flowers and ribbons, the can-

¹ This account of the Festival of the Dead is based on the accounts (which
 coincided) of but two informants.

A TEPOZTECAN BOOK OF DAYS

125

dles are hung with black ribbons and decorated with flowers of black wax. A large incense-burner is lighted, and it and the candlesticks are black too. At eight o'clock food is laid out for each dead. As it is laid out, one says: "*Ye acitihuitz micailhuittl. Canite in-chiaz nomimique*" ("Now comes the Day of the Dead. I will await my departed").¹

They offer *tamales*, rice, *mamones*, chicken, oranges, lemons, bananas, melons, *mole verde*. [262]

All night people keep awake. They pray, and call out the names of the dead. There are torches alight in the streets. The bells on the chapels strike the hours with double strokes. At four o'clock a group of men from each *barrio* go about asking food for the bell-ringers. People give a *tamal* and a dish of *mole*. At six in the morning the blessing is given, mass is said, and the offering is eaten.

November 7.—This is the *octava* of *los chiquitos*. Again the child dead are commemorated, as they were before, only now no meat and no *tamales* are offered, but only bread, milk, *chayotes*, green corn boiled in *tequezquite*, squash, fruit conserve, and *clascales* made in the shape of stars, birds, dogs. [262]

November 8.—On the *octava* of *los grandes* the offering and the vigil are once more repeated. This time fruit and squash are offered to the dead, and *clascales* colored blue. At noon a procession goes to the cemetery, led by the priest. Music accompanies them.

¹ Said in the respectful form (now not generally in use): "*Ye acitihuitz micailhuittl. Canite inmocheiliz nomicatizihuan.*" [195]

126 TEPOZTLAN, A MEXICAN VILLAGE

- * 796 Those who have dead to commemorate carry candles.
 • 769 These are lit on the graves. Prayers and responses are
 792 said there, and the party remains until eight in the
 evening. For the responses the priest is given money
 by all who celebrate their dead.

243 In December the rains have stopped and the air is
 [132] very clear. The corn is ripe now, and the harvest be-
 gins. The roads are dusty from the feet of men, *bur-
 ros*, and horses, going to the fields with empty sacks
 or returning to the village with loads of maize. In the
 fields groups of men move along the rows, removing
 the ears from the stalks. A broad needle of wood or
 iron is suspended from each wrist and used to slit the
 husks away from the ears. The husks and stalks are
 left as they were; later groups of women will collect
 the husks (*totomochili*) and bind them into bundles to
 be used to wrap *tamales*. Still later the stalks will be
 [231] cut down with the *machete* for fodder.

243 The men always work in groups; the owner of the
 476 field has asked them to help him—it is *cuatequilt*—
 and then when their fields are ripe he will help them
 harvest. These are social occasions. Each group of
 [273] men has *la mulita*, “the little mule”—a bottle of al-
 cohol hidden under a pile of corn. The preparation
 of their dinner is also done co-operatively at the house
 of the owner of the field, and this is a social occasion
 for the women. They carry the dinner to the fields for
 the men. The owner of the field supplies the food and
 drink. But here the co-operative harvesting ends, for

¹ See p. 146.

190 TEPOZTLAN, A MEXICAN VILLAGE

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| 533 | Porque todo fué un sueño, el triunfo que le tocó, | Because it was all a dream, that triumph of yours, |
| 539 | Por eso le sofoca la gran revolución. | That is why the great revolution smothered you. |
| | ¿Pues que pensaba Usted, Señor don Venustiano, | Well, what did you think, Mr. Venustiano, |
| | Que con su gran esfuerzo vencería la nación? | That with your great force you would conquer the nation? |
| | Pues sepa Usted y entienda que el pueblo Mexicano | Well, know and learn that the Mexican people |
| | Despoja los tiranos de nuestra libertad. | Cuts down the tyrants of our liberty. |

War in Mexico is also politics, and it is waged in terms of personalities, of heroes, and of tyrants. The military songs of the narrative type usually recount some heroic act of one or another local leader. Of these the greatest is Emiliano Zapata, but other lesser men are also sung. Characteristically it is the tragic death, accomplished through perfidious betrayal, that is the subject of the ballad. The captured general defies his captors, makes a patriotic speech, and is shot. Ballads of this type are specific as to names and dates—they are intermediate in character between, and identical in function with, the legends of a tribal people and the history-books of primary education in city life. "On the thirtieth of May," begins the "Ballad of Serna," "in Santana Clacotenco¹ was Don Sirino Serna, with his faithful brigade, guarding the plaza, when he found himself taken by surprise." A traitor named Quintero, an "Iscaiot," betrayed him. "It was a little after four o'clock on that sad morning

¹ Not far north of Tepoztlán, in the Federal District.

CHAPTER XI

THE *SANTO* AND THE *VETERANO*

533 It should appear from the foregoing chapter that
 776 the most important groups of songs, with the possible
 • 769 exception of the conventional love songs, are the
 186 *alabanzas* and the *corridos*.¹ The former are tradition-
 al, sacred, ritualistic; the latter are ephemeral, secular,
 and historical. But the *corridos* that recount the
 exploits of military heroes are like the *alabanzas* in
 this: they also are songs of celebration; they also extol
 personages that embody the admiration or adoration
 of the Tepoztecan. The one praises the *santo*;
 the other, the *veterano*. The *santo* and the *veterano* are
 both symbols of the ideals, the wishes, of the group.
 These symbols are local; in most instances the meaning
 that they have is for the locality only. The community
 is ideologically as well as economically self-sufficient.

776 The *santo* is a local patron. Each Indian village in
 621 pre-Columbian days had its patron deity, while in
 [177] Mediterranean Europe protector gods of city or village
 were characteristic; it is impossible and unnecessary
 to say how much of each tradition enters into the
 attitudes of Tepoztlán. In rural Mexico every hamlet
 has its patron saint. In Tepoztlán, as has al-

¹ Using this word to mean the ballads describing current events or circumstances.

THE "SANTO" AND THE "VETERANO" 197

specifically and commonly it refers to the images of Christian saints housed in temples. *Veterano*, on the other hand, is not a word with this precise conceptual connotation. It is an appellation applied to any distinguished military leader. People do not say *los veteranos* as they do say *los santos*. But the term always implies the heroic qualities which, tending to become mythical, make the *veterano* a symbol rather than an individual person; and, therefore, it is convenient to use it to denote this secular complement of the *santo*.

Every revolution produces its hundreds of *veteranos*. The memories of the lesser *veteranos* exert an influence as local as that of the lesser *santos*. The reputation of a few becomes as wide as Mexico. Probably the best known of these popular heroes is Pancho Villa,¹ and perhaps the one other who comes close to national fame is Emiliano Zapata. In spite of this wide notoriety, Zapata remains, however, a particular hero, and the greatest hero, of the Indians of Morelos. There live the memories of many other Zapatista generals—of Felipe Neri, Sirino Serna, Diego Ruiz, and Everardo González. There were at least five Zapatista generals from Tepoztlán.² There are stories about all of these, and *corridos* about many, but the heroic qualities of none of them can compare with the local conception of Emiliano Zapata, the principal leader of the southern revolutionary movement against Carranza.

¹ There are many *corridos* about Villa and several popular books describing his life and exploits.

² The three Serna brothers and the two Galvan brothers.

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198 TEPOZTLAN, A MEXICAN VILLAGE

ranza. A Tepoztecan tells what he knows about Zapata in the following words:

Yes, I saw Zapata many times. He was a short, slender man with long black mustaches. I was sixteen years old during the revolution. It began this way. Zapata was a poor boy; they had nothing to eat in his house but *tortillas*. When he grew up he worked as a *peón*. After Díaz had to run away, Zapata began with no more than a dozen men who went with him to the hills. Then more joined him. But they had no money. The way he fed his soldiers was this: he would go to a *pueblo* and say, "We need so many *tortillas*, so much beans." The people were glad to bring them. Madero tried to betray Zapata, and on pretense of friendship was going to kill him. But Zapata would not be caught. When the people heard how Madero wanted to betray him, they rose in support of Zapata.

[669] Once there was a battle in Tepoztlán between General Sanchez and the Carranzistas, and the Carranzistas were beaten. Sanchez was killed in an attack they made on a train at a station on the Balsas line they call La Cañada. That discouraged the Zapatistas. Everything grew calm again. But there was a time when Zapata held all the state, and for four months he was in Mexico City.

Zapata was killed by treason. General Guajardo, a Carranzista, sent word he would like to make an agreement with Zapata, by which he would go over to Zapata, and asked Zapata to meet him at the *hacienda* of Chinameca. Zapata accepted, and came with only twenty-five soldiers. Guajardo greeted him in a friendly way, and tried to get Zapata to drink with him. They had good beer brought all the way from Mexico, and of course *la mula*.¹ But Zapata would not drink. He went out with his men to make a circuit of the hills, to make sure there were no federal troops near. Guajardo kept reassuring him there was no danger; that his men were watching. When Zapata came back and entered the *portón*, Guajardo's men fired on him and he fell dead. But afterward Guajardo was killed by the Zapatistas.

¹ *Aguardiente*.

THE "SANTO" AND THE "VETERANO" 199

Zapata was a very great man. The only reason he lost was that he had no money. He fought for the poor people, but the millionaires were against him.

Zapata as a symbol embodies the group consciousness of the Indians of Morelos which developed during the revolution. His exploits are sung all over Mexico, but it is especially in Morelos that his memory is revered. *Corridos*¹ about him, written elsewhere in Mexico, describe his "base passions" and refer to him as "an Attila." But in the songs of the local collection he is "our defender," "a Napoleon," "our exalted savior," "the scourge of many a traitor," and "so wise and quick-thinking a *veterano*."

Les encargó a las fuerzas surianas
Que como jefe y sublime redentor;

He charged the forces of the south
As chief and exalted savior;

Su memoria conserven mañana
Como prueba de su patrio amor.

To preserve his memory tomorrow
As a proof of their love of country.

It is only in Morelos, in Tepoztlán and scores of Indian villages like it, that Zapata becomes truly legendary, and then even mythical. It is only in Morelos that he becomes a King Arthur, a Robin Hood. The stories and songs about Zapata may be dignified with the term "cycle." To the extent that these stories and songs merely keep alive a glorious memory they are legends—the folk counterpart of history. To the extent that the figure of Zapata defines the standards and justifies the conduct and ethical judgments of the people out of which he arose, they are myths.

¹ Obtained in printed form in Mexico City.

200 TEPOZTLAN, A MEXICAN VILLAGE

- 769 The substance of one local *corrido*, the "Bola de San
539 Juan Chinameca," describing an exploit of Zapata,
may be given to illustrate the memories that are re-
lished in Tepoztlán and the idealization of the *veterano*.
After a formal introduction the singer tells that on
March 28 Zapata arrived at the *hacienda* of Chiname-
ca,¹ of which the caretaker was a Spaniard, Carriles.
Zapata, "always filled with passion," addresses Car-
riles.

Este fué impedido de unos tres
mil pesos,
Y en seguida les de.

Of him was demanded some three
thousand pesos,
And that he give it to them im-
mediately.

"Luego en el momento," contestó
Carriles,
"Tres mil bolas les daré."

"Right away, right this moment,"
answered Carriles,
"I'll give you three thousand bul-
lets."

Zapata, having received this answer, arranges his
forces and says, "Now, boys, lively when you hear the
bugle." The *hacienda* is surrounded; the Spaniards
are terrified.

Llegó el terrible Zapata
Con justicia y razón;
Habló con imperio, "Vengan con
una hacha
Y tiren este portón."

Arrived the terrible Zapata
With justice and right;
He spoke commandingly, "Come
with an ax
And batter down this door."

The door is opened; the Zapatistas enter.

Tembló la tierra ese día,
Zapata entró . . .

The earth trembled that day,
Zapata entered. . . .

¹ About twenty miles south of Casuhtla in south-central Morelos.

THE "SANTO" AND THE "VETERANO" 201

Carriles is ferreted out "just as he was, in his stockings," and the story ends swiftly. 769 539

Les juntó toditos, y les dió las
onze,¹

Y hincados frente de una peña,
"Besen esta cruz y toquen clarines
de bronce,

"Y griten, ¡Que muera Es-
paña!"

Viva el General Zapata,

Viva su fe, y su opinión,

Porque se la propuesto morir por
la patria,

Como yo, por la nación.

He brought them all together,
and gave them a drink,

And kneeling in front of a rock,

"Kiss this cross and let bronze
trumpets sound,

"And cry, Die Spain!"

Long live General Zapata,

Long live his faith, and his cause,

Because he made up his mind to
die for the country,

As I, for the nation.

Zapata is already a legend, but he tends to become a myth. He is already a representative of the type of heroic figure, a King Arthur, a Jesse James. Around his memory clings an aura of the miraculous. There are as yet no stories of his magical birth or parentage; perhaps they will come in time. He had, however, an inexplicable faculty of escaping his enemies, and he was equipped with a horse with powers that were supernatural. 769 713

Zapata was miraculously clever at escaping. He was many times surrounded but he always got away. One day he was penned into a house by the federals. The only entrance was by the *zaguan*, where there were federal troops. The wall at the back of the house was as high as that shelf [about seven feet]. Zapata had a wonderful horse. It was called Relámpago ["Lightning"]. When the federal troops were about to close in on him, he drove his spurs into Relámpago and leaped the wall—he was gone, none knew where.

When he came into a *pueblo* with his forces they always tried

¹ "It struck eleven for them"—a localism.

202 TEPOZTLAN, A MEXICAN VILLAGE

769 to find a house, oh, very clean [*muy limpiacita*], for him to sleep
 773 in. When he was sleeping no one might enter except his orderly.
 But many times Zapata would get up in the middle of the night
 and go and sleep under some rock in some secret place. None
 knew how he got there. Thus, though many times the federals
 surrounded the house where he slept, he always got away.

At the time of these investigations the "mythification" of Zapata had reached the point where the rumor was current that Zapata had escaped death at Chinameca and was still alive. *Corridos* of the reportorial type, written outside of Morelos shortly after the event and still current, describe the actual facts. The trap was set and sprung at Chinameca and Zapata was shot down by the soldiers of Jesús Guajardo on April 9, 1919. His body was exhibited in Cuauhtla to thousands; his tomb there is still a place of pilgrimage. Nevertheless the story current in Morelos among the Zapatistas is that it was another man who was killed. In the summer of 1926 a singer of that region put the story into a *corrido*, which begins:

539	Han publicado, los cantadores,	They have spread, those singers,
769	Una mentira fenomenal,	An extraordinary lie,
773	Y todos dicen que ya Zapata	And everybody says that now Zapata
	Descansa en paz en la eternidad.	Rests in eternal peace.
	Pero si Ustedes me dan permiso	But if you will give me permission
	Y depositan confianza en mi,	And rest your trust in me,
	Voy a cantarles lo mas preciso,	I am going to tell you the exact truth,
	Para informarles tal como vi.	So as to let you know just how I saw it.

The ballad goes on to tell how Pablo Gonzáles, a Carranzista general, when he learned that Zapata had

THE "SANTO" AND THE "VETERANO" 203

gone to San Juan Chinameca, summoned Jesús Guajardo and with him developed the plan to send Guajardo to Zapata with the proposal that Guajardo turn Zapatista and deliver his forces and funds to the southern leader. Zapata then professed interest, and responded to Guajardo with an invitation to meet him at dinner. But Zapata knew that a trap was laid for him.

Como Zapata es tan veterano,
Sagar y listo para pensar,
Ya había pensado de ante mano

Mandar otro hombre en su lugar.

As Zapata is such a veteran,
Wise and quick witted,
He had already thought beforehand

To send another man in his place.

So to one Jesús Delgado are given the coat, breeches, and leggings of Zapata, and he rides forth to die for Zapata.

Estado arriba, le dijo a su compadre,
"Hoy sí estamos en la perdición,

¡Adiós, México, mi patria libre,

¡Adiós, adiós, mi fiel nación!

Le salió el tiro por la culata,

Es positivo y no hay que dudar,

Pues se engañaron porque a Zapata,

Ni una razón le han de poder dar.

Arrived at the top, he said to his companion,
"Now indeed we are lost,

Farewell, Mexico, my free country,

Farewell, farewell, my true country!"

The shot came out through the back,¹

It is certain and cannot be doubted,

But they were deceived about Zapata,

They cannot put Zapata down.

¹ "They were fooled."

204 TEPOZTLAN, A MEXICAN VILLAGE

- 769 At about the same time as first appeared this *cor-*
773 *rdo* a soldier of Zapata in Tepoztlán gave his version
of the matter in the following words:

It is not known whether Zapata still lives or whether he really was killed as reported. Some say he is in Arabia, and will return when he is needed. For myself, I think he still lives. I know he had a scar on his cheek, and the corpse that was brought back from Chinameca had no scar. I saw it myself. It is said Zapata knew the danger he was in, and had another put on his clothes and go out to die for him. He himself is in hiding, and still lives. He will come back when he is needed.

In this version the wish of the Zapatistas has found expression in the added element that looks to the
[186] future—the idea that some day the hero will return. Thus are justified the group consciousness and latent political ambitions of the Zapatistas. The story is now more than a memory, more than a legend; it is a myth.

270 / LIFE IN A MEXICAN VILLAGE: *Tepoztlán Restudied*

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[585] pression that most church weddings in Tepoztlán are of the second type, that is, *con ceremonia*. Judging from the marriage statistics, there is an average of about twenty-five church weddings a year. Assuming that twelve are of the elaborate type and thirteen of the simple type, we get an income of 426 pesos a year.

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794 Another source of income is from the ceremonies at death and burial. The simple benediction for a dead child costs five pesos; benediction with *vigilias* costs thirty pesos; for going to the home of the deceased and praying, and then saying a Mass in the church and later at the cemetery, the cost is forty pesos.

[165] The number of deaths in the municipio over a six-year period was 101, one-fourth of which was infant mortality. From this data we can calculate the church income. There is considerable variation in the costs of funerals. Often the rich will take only the simplest ceremony, while the poor will go into debt for an elaborate funeral. We can assume that about 60 per cent of the adult deaths yielded an income of at least 30 pesos to the church and the rest yielded about 40 pesos. We therefore get the following:

25 Benedictions for infants at 5 pesos each	125
46 Benedictions and Masses for adults at 30 pesos each	1,380
30 Benedictions and Masses for adults at 40 pesos each	1,200
Total	2,705

GENERAL MASSES

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796 Here we can consider the Mass said in memory of the dead once a year; those paid by the religious associations in the village; and Masses said on Sundays and fiesta days.

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[765] It is customary to have a Mass said on the anniversary of the death of a close relative for at least two years, and some continue for much longer. Thus, given 101 deaths a year we can assume that at least eighty per cent will have Masses said the first year, sixty per cent the second year, and thirty per cent the third year. This would mean 180 Masses a year. These Masses have three prices: simple Mass for 2 pesos, a sung Mass for 11 pesos, and a Mass with a sermon for 40 pesos. The priest encourages the people to have Mass said for their dead and points out that the more elaborate the ceremony, the better the dead will fare in purgatory. Even the poor try to have the most elaborate Mass. Still, we will assume that at least 50 per cent of the Masses for the dead are simple, about 25 per cent are sung, and 25 per cent include a sermon. This yields the following income:

90 Masses at 2 pesos each	180
45 Masses at 11 pesos each	495
45 Masses at 40 pesos each	1,800
Total	2,475

[775] In addition, we must add the money collected by the priest on the Days of the Dead when he says Mass for the dead as a whole, but mentions in particular the names of those who pay a three-peso fee. Informants believe he receives about 400

Religion / 271

pesos from such Masses, giving a total of 2,875 pesos as income from Masses for the dead.

The ten religious associations in the village are each obliged to pay for 12 Masses a year in honor of the particular patron saint of the association. Their Masses are always sung and followed by a sermon and should cost 40 pesos, but the priest gives them a special price and charges only 25 pesos. The income from 120 Masses is, therefore, 3,000 pesos a year. On Sundays and holy days the priest says two Masses which are free of charge. However, those who assist Mass are expected to make some contribution. Assuming that an average of 150 persons assist weekly at each of the two Masses and that each contributes ten centavos, we get a weekly income of 30 pesos. If we add eight days for special holy days to the 52 Sundays, we get 60 days with an income of 30 pesos daily, or 1,800 pesos a year. In addition, approximately 100 persons attend church daily and contribute about 10 centavos each, making an annual total of 3,650 pesos. In summary then, we find a total of 11,325 pesos received from Masses, as follows:

Masses for the dead	2,875
Masses for the religious associations	3,000
Masses on Sundays and holy days	1,800
Daily Masses	3,650
Total	11,325

FIESTAS

The priest charges 75 pesos for officiating at each barrio fiesta and at the village fiestas. For this price he says three Masses and a sermon. With seven barrios and seven villages he has an income of 1,575 pesos a year.

OTHER SOURCES

The priest charges 20 centavos for praying the *evangelios* and 20 centavos for singing the responses. In addition he has occasional income from extraordinary requests for prayers or Masses. Informants who aided us with this study of church income estimate about 300 pesos as a minimum from these sources. In summary we find the total church income as follows:

Income from baptisms	956
Income from <i>sacramentos</i>	408
Income from marriages	426
Income from ritual for the dead	2,705
Income from Masses	11,325
Income from barrio and village fiestas	1,575
Income from other sources	300
Total	17,695

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330 / LIFE IN A MEXICAN VILLAGE: *Tepoztlán Restudied*

593 when they are ill. It is she who is expected to train them in good habits and be-
[859]havior and to see after their religious training. The father rules the children through
the mother and holds her responsible for their behavior. As far as the children are
concerned, family life revolves about the mother, and their contacts are primarily
with her. It is to her that they turn for help, permission, information, protection,
or affection. In matters involving small sums of money, children always go to the
mother because the father does not hold or control family funds. Children beg the
father for pennies when he is drunk; then he may have change in his pockets.

Children are supposed to make important requests directly to the father. How-
ever, the mother is often the mediator for the children, and most requests are made
through her. If a son wishes to continue school or a daughter wants to go to a dance,
they will almost always first discuss the matter with the mother; and if she sees fit,
she will ask the father. Older children occasionally speak directly to the father, par-
ticularly if the mother refuses to do so. Many fathers also use the mother as the go-
between in dealings with the children. If a father thinks his son is staying out too
late or that his daughter is too free in her manner, he will often tell the mother to
see that the children improve their behavior, rather than speak directly to them him-
self. In the same manner, if a child does not improve or if he commits an offense, it
is sometimes the mother who receives the scolding or beating and not the child.

The father depends on the mother to maintain his position of respect in the home.
It is one of her more important obligations to teach the children to fear the father's
anger, to avoid offending him, and to demonstrate continually by her own behavior
her respect for him. Children are also repeatedly warned by the grandmother, aunt,
godmother, and other adults that the father must be respected. Respect for the
father is also sought by emphasizing to the children the importance of family unity,
and the dire fate of orphans. There is a good deal of talk about the family as a unit;
and the individual who lives in a peaceful, hard working, united family group is
considered fortunate.

Although mothers generally comply in building up the father as a feared and re-
spected figure, they make little effort to place him on a pedestal, or to portray him
to the children as an awe-inspiring personage. It is common for mothers to complain
to their children about the husband and to point out his faults. When a man dies,
593 there is little or no effort on the part of his wife to create an honored memory of
769 him among the children. At best, a mother might tell her small children that their
father had "no vices and was hard working," and that they had no cause to be
ashamed of him. If a man had weaknesses, however, the mother generally does
not overlook them, even after his death. Many of our case histories reveal the part
the mother played in developing an uninspiring father-image. The following, for
example, is not unusual:

"My mother told me that my father was a drunkard and a vagabond, a gambler
interested in cockfights."

A youth of nineteen said, "My mother warns me not to do as my father did [see
other women] or I will come to the same bad end."

Inter-Personal Relations Within the Family / 331

Another widow told her two sons that their father was a *politico*, and that they lost their inheritance because he wasted his time and money. 593
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When the question of administering a Rorschach test to one husband came up, his wife laughed and, in the presence of her eight children, said that her husband was very ignorant and would not do well. "He doesn't even know how to read," she remarked.

In a few cases, when the mother has a true admiration for her husband, particularly if he is better educated, she will transfer this to her children. For example, the wife of the village secretary, who is widely respected for his fine hand and ability to type, has taught her children to look up to their father as a *sabio* (wise man). It is, however, more common for mothers to instill fear of the father rather than respect for his positive personal qualities.

It is interesting to compare our description of the role of the mother and father in Tepoztlán today with Sahagún's description of parental roles, as obtained from his Aztec informants shortly after the conquest. The role of the father was described as follows: 175
593

The father is the prime root and originator of the family. The quality of the father is to be diligent and careful, who, with his perseverance rules his house and sustains it. The good father raises and supports his children and gives them good training and doctrine, scolds them and gives them good advice and good examples and makes a treasure for them and guards it; keeps account of the expenditures of the house and rules his children's spending and foresees things in advance. The nature of the bad father is to be lazy, careless, idle, who cures no one, who out of laziness leaves undone that which he is obliged to do; and loses time to no purpose.²

This description might well apply to the present-day Tepoztecan concept of the role of the father, with two important exceptions: The Tepoztecan father is not expected to train or teach his children. The Tepoztecan father does not keep the family accounts, and he rules his children's spending in a limited way. The father, as described by Sahagún, is a more truly patriarchal figure than the present Tepoztecan father.

The mother's role was presented by Sahagún as follows:

The quality of the mother is to have children and to give them milk; the virtuous mother is vigilant, an active caretaker, solicitous, anxious. She raises her children, has continual care of them; she sees that they lack nothing, she is like a slave of all in her house, concerned with the needs of each; she is not careless with necessities of the house; she saves, is industrious and is a hard worker. The bad mother is foolish, dirty, stupid, sleepy, lazy, wasteful, improvident, careless of the house, allows things to be lost out of laziness or anger, doesn't cure those of the house; doesn't look out for household things; doesn't correct the errors of those of the house and for this reason every day gets worse. There are among such persons legitimate children and bastards.³

² Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España*, ed. Pedro Lobredo, III (Mexico, 1938), 11.

³ *Ibid.*

Appendix D: Fiesta Calendar of Tepoztlán / 461

May 8. *Fiesta of San Miguel*, celebrated in San Miguel: This is one of the two annual fiestas of this barrio. As one of the larger barrios, it spends huge sums to have an impressive fiesta. 796

The following Thursday. *Fiesta of Thursday of the Ascension*, celebrated in the parish church: This is a movable fiesta, which comes seven weeks after Holy Thursday. Mass is said in the large church, and fireworks are set off. The peasants must rest this day. 461

Ten days later. *Fiesta of Tlanepantla*, celebrated in Tlanepantla: A favorite fiesta of Tepoztecos, who carry *aguacate*, *cuajilote*, and *zapote blanco* for sale. 439

All of June is dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

About June 12. *Fiesta of La Santísima*, celebrated in La Santísima: La Santísima, traditional rival of Santo Domingo, organizes an impressive fiesta, with the usual playing of the *chirimía*, and the eating of *mole* and tamales.

June 24. *Fiesta of Day of San Juan*, celebrated in San Juan: Boys and girls sing *mananitas* to the image of San Juan at dawn. Then they visit houses where persons named Juan or Juanita live, and they sing *mananitas*. In the afternoon, the young people go out to the fields to seek four-leaf clovers for luck. 533 777

June 29. *Fiesta of San Pedro*, celebrated in San Pedro: Similar to other fiestas.

July 16. *Fiesta of Virgin of Carmen*, celebrated in the parish church: All who wear the scapulary of this virgin must attend Mass.

July 22. *Fiesta of Amatlán*, celebrated in Amatlán: Generally only about fifty Tepoztecos attend. 484

July 25. *Fiesta of Santiago*, celebrated in Santiago: During our visit about 150 persons from Tepoztlán attended.

Aug. 4. *Fiesta of Santo Domingo*, celebrated in Santo Domingo: An important fiesta which lasts three days. A band is hired in Mexico City for greater prestige. There are *toros*, cockfights, dancers, and fireworks. 533 541

Aug. 6. *Fiesta of San Salvador*, celebrated in Santa Cruz and Ixcatepec: Follows the usual patterns of barrio fiestas.

Aug. 15. *Fiesta of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary*, celebrated in Tejalpa.

Sept. 8. *Fiesta of the Virgin of the Natividad*, patron of Tepoztlán: This is one of the most important village-wide fiestas, combining pre-Hispanic and Catholic elements. The Catholic ceremony in honor of the Virgin takes place in the church; the honor to El Tepozteco takes place out of doors. A dance to El Tepozteco is held to the accompaniment of the ancient *teponaztli* and a traditional discourse of El Tepozteco in Náhuatl is spoken. 776 527

Sept. 28. *Day of the Blessing of the Pericón*, celebrated in the parish church and cornfields: This is an outing day for Tepoztecos who go out into the cornfields to roast fresh corn and place crosses of blessed *pericón* at the four corners of the milpas. Similar crosses are also placed in the homes, for it is believed that on this night the demons are loose, and the evil winds blow hard. 527 778 776

Sept. 29. *Fiesta of Barrio of San Miguel*, celebrated in San Miguel: Follows the tradition of other barrio fiestas.

Oct. 31. *All Saints' Day (Children)*, celebrated in the parish church, in the homes, and at the cemetery: Day in commemoration of dead children. A candle is lighted for the dead child, and incense is burned. 769 782

* See Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, for more detailed description.

462 / LIFE IN A MEXICAN VILLAGE: Tepoztlán Restudied

796 Nov. 1. *All Saints' Day (Adults)*: Day in commemoration of the adult dead. Food is offered for the dead. The mother of the house says a prayer with the offering. A typical utterance is, "For thee, my son Juan, who has left us here so sad, here we leave thee thy food so that thee will not suffer hunger and so that thee will not forget to aid us in our misery." In this way an offering is made for each dead member of the family. The families then go to place flowers on the graves. "The usual offerings consist of tamales, rice, chicken, chocolate, *mole verde*, *mamonés*, and fruits. . . . All night people keep awake. They pray, and call out the names of the dead. There are torches alight in the streets. [788] The bells on the chapels strike the hours with double strikes. At four o'clock a group of men from each barrio go about asking food for the bell-ringers. People give a tamale and a dish of *mole*. At six in the morning the blessing is given, Mass is said, and the offering is eaten."

Nov. 7. *Octava of the Dead (Children)*: Again there is a commemoration of the dead children.

Nov. 8. *Octava of the Dead (Adults)*: The offering and the vigil are repeated.

Nov. 9. *Cult of the Dead*: Mass is said in the parish church, and then the priest leads a procession to the cemetery where he prays for the dead. During the remainder of November the priest says Masses for the dead.

796 Dec. 8. *Fiesta of the Purísima Concepción*, celebrated in the parish church: In addition to the participation of the appropriate *cofrades*, all persons named Concha celebrate this day.

[788] Dec. 12. *Day of the Virgin of Guadalupe*, celebrated in the parish church in Mexico City: The day before, Tepoztecans organize a pilgrimage to Mexico City to do homage to the Virgenñita Tonantzin.

Dec. 17. *Days of the Posadas*: The traditional *posadas* begin on this day. The images of San José and the Virgin are borrowed from the large church, and the scenes of asking for lodging at the homes of those who have an image of the child Jesus are re-enacted.^a

Dec. 24-25 *La Nochebuena*, celebrated in the parish church: In the evening the birth of the child Jesus is celebrated. The usual Catholic ceremony goes on in the church, with a midnight Mass.^b

^a *Ibid.*, p. 125.

^b *Ibid.*, pp. 129-31.

^c *Ibid.*